

# The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

VOL. II.—No. 37.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1861.

WHOLE NUMBER 89.

## The Principia

Published Weekly, at 220 Pearl Street, two doors above  
Harper's Buildings) New-York.

WILLIAM GOORER, Editor.  
SAMUEL WILDS, Proprietor.

TERMS: One Dollar a year, in advance.  
Direct business letters, with remittances, to

MESANCTION R. WILLIAMS, Publishing Agent,  
as above.

## PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound moral and Christian reforms—the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the race-trust, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, domestic, business arrangements, and aims of life—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law our expediency, obligation; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promise, our purpose, the whole armor of God.

52 Editors kindly please copy, or notice.

## THE BIBLE ABOLITIONIST.

Containing the testimony of the scriptures against Slavery, and the Scriptural method of treating it.

"We have seen also that the testimony which they speak not according to the word it is because there is no light in them."—John 3:20. "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." 2 Tim. 3:16, 17.

Part III.—Slaveholding brought directly to the test of the true Bible.

CHAPTER XX.

REVIVAL OF TRUE RELIGION ON THE RUINS OF THE FALSE;  
ISAIAH 59, and 60.

Closely connected with those fearful predictions of the overthrow of oppression and of hypocritical oppressors among the professed people of God, the prophet proceeds to predict, as a consequence, (in the same chapter) the revival of the true religion, on the ruins of the false, and of the coming of the Messiah. Immediately after the close of the paragraph last quoted "he will repay, fury to his adversaries," &c., &c., we read as follows,

"So shall they fear the name of the Lord from the rising of the sun, and his glory from the rising of the sun."

They shall fear him for his terrible judgments upon oppressors!

"When the enemy shall come it is like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a Standard against him."

The enemy here spoken of is, undoubtedly, the grand enemy of God and man. Yet the connexion shows that this same enemy was confronted and overcome by "the Spirit of the Lord," in connection with the overthrow of oppression. The advent of the Great Deliverer, is very appropriately, however, in the very next sentence.

"And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto the land that turn from transgression." (Isa. 59:20.)

The Saviour would come to those in Jerusalem and Judea, who turned away from transgression—including, of course, especially the transgressions made up against him, and the preceding chapter (verse eighth and fifty ninth)—the sin of oppression and of neglect to intercede for the oppressed. Of course, he came from this transgression, should his spirit of Zion be in him.

The next verse, when closely examined, is a prediction of the new covenant, the dispensation of the spirit, the law written in the hearts of the people, the prosperity and transmission of this to all coming generations.

"As far as I can tell the old world is gone, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste places, the desolations of many generations."

"An angel said he had the old world in his hand, they shall

raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste places, the desolations of many generations."

Then opens the well known sixteenth chapter, the glorious prediction of the Messiah's reign over both the Jews and the Gentiles—

"Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

In the violence of this chapter we read,

"Elohim shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders" . . . "They thy people also shall be all righteous. They shall inherit the land, forever."

The violence, the oppression, the wasting, the destruction, described in the preceding chapters, should be done away. The people would all be righteous—in striking contrast with the unrighteous and hypocritical worshippers, whose sacrifices, fasts, and prayers were abominable in God's sight, on account of their oppressions. Just so far as the Messiah's reign on earth has been, in reality, witnessed, so far as these predictions have been fulfilled, and no further. Their full accomplishment will include the absence of all violence and oppression—all of slavery and slaveholding. The very mission of the Messiah, his office as the Anointed, includes this. And hence, the very next chapter, the sixty-first, opens with the following:

"The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the poor; he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the recovery of sight to the blind, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord," rendered alike in both places, refers undubtly, to the year of release, the Jubilee, of the code of Moses, in which "liberty" was to be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof? This prophecy of Christ corresponds with another, in the seventy-second Psalm.

This passage was cited by our Savior himself, on the opening of his public ministry, at Nazareth, as recorded by Luke, (Chapter iv) saying: "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears." In our common version the words in Isaiah—"good tidings to the poor" are rendered in Luke—"the gospel to the poor." "The acceptable year of the Lord," rendered alike in both places, refers, undubtly, to the year of release, the Jubilee, of the code of Moses, in which "liberty" was to be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof? This prophecy of Christ corresponds with another, in the seventy-second Psalm.

"He shall judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with judgment. The mountains shall bring forth peace to the people, and the little hills, righteousness. He shall judge the poor of the people; he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor."

"He shall spare the poor and needy, and shall save the souls of the needy. He shall redeem their soul from death and sin once, and precious shall be their day in his sight."

Returning again to the sixty-first of Isaiah, immediately after the preceding first, already quoted comes the following:

"An angel said he had the old world in his hand, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste places, the desolations of many generations."

This will be recognized as nearly identical with the words before cited from the fifty-eighth chapter (verse 12) where they stand as descriptive of the promised results of the abolition of oppression. Then, passing on-

ward, in this sixty-first chapter, we soon find the connexion again recognized.

"For I, the Lord, love judgment. I hate robbery for hurting offering, and I will direct their work in truth, and I will make an everlasting covenant with them."

The "everlasting covenant" here spoken of, is doubtless the Now Covenant of the Christians dispensation. This is, indeed, the common understanding of the passage. Yet evident reference is here made to the hatred that had been expressed, (in the first and fifty-eighth chapters) of the sacrificial, burnt offerings, fasts, and prayers of the professed people of God, who mingled their devout worship with their oppressions—their neglect to relieve the oppressed. Having now promised to those who, as was said (Chap. lxx. 20) had "turned from transgression"—such transgression as had been described, the abundant tokens of his divine favor. God was careful to have it understood that these blessings would be bestowed on them, though withheld from oppressors and their confederates in iniquity, because "the Lord loved judgment, and hated robbery for hurtful offering." A righteous seed he would have to serve him, a people reverent of the rights of their neighbors. For this he had overthrown and destroyed the oppressors. For this, he had said he would introduce his new covenant. For this he would establish the dispensation of the Spirit, writing his law in the hearts of men. For this he would commission and send to them their Messiah. For this, (as he here adds further) he would himself "direct their work in truth, and make an everlasting covenant with them." Temporal and spiritual emancipations from temporal and spiritual oppressions are both here included, the one being fit emblems and types of the other, for the Deliverer "went about doing good to the bodies and to the souls of men." Thus God's intense hatred of oppression, (as observed in a former chapter,) is most impressively revealed. Oppression, itself one of the worst forms of sin, becomes thus the symbol, the type, the representation, of all sin, which is, in its own nature, oppressive and enslaving. So that if modern chattel slavery and slaveholding constitute the very climax of oppression, as is doubtless the fact, then they constitute the climax of sin. And they constitute likewise, the most intensely expressive symbol or type of the bondage, the enslavement, the degradation, the misery, the helplessness, the hopelessness—the undurableness of a state of subjection to sin and its consequences in the general. This may be one reason why, in these prophecies of Christ and his Salvation, as well as in the song of Moses and of the Lamb, heard by the prophet of Patmos, we find them conjoined. In the prophecy and in its accomplishment, in the deliverances and in the triumphant ascriptions of thanksgivings, the temporal and the spiritual aspects, pany each other, and are found commingled together.

Isaiah the evangelical prophet<sup>1</sup> is here told to have "judges the debt of his people," and to have sealed flocks and vineyards for his people. As an expounder of the Law, he is told of the great commandments. And he makes the same great commandments to be the great central commandments in the law to be made the forsaking of the greater sins, and the commandments to be of the greatest importance in the law. Under the Gospel, still further, he makes the commandments of the gospel as a deliverance from the curse of the law, and in spiritual atmosphere he reads with us the civic of grave doubts and dissipations which the great temporal human problems to be solved.

Isaiah was a man possessed of the hated agitators—the "disturbers of the peace" of Judah and Jerusalem, in his times. He lived amid men of violence and crime, and is supposed to have been one of those allied to the Epistle to the Hebrews (Chap. 1:37) who were

"saw wonder"—"of whom the world was not worthy." The faithful reprovers of oppression, in our own times, are deemed deserving of similar treatment, especially by the false prophets by whom they are most hated, and who leave no stone unturned, in their efforts to persecute and get rid of them; but the people should listen to their teachings.

The thing that now is, is the thing that hath been; and that is no new thing under the sun.

There are those, among the true people of God and ministers of his gospel who do not seem yet to understand fully, that those predicted revivals of religion that are to usher in the millennial glory of the church, and the conversion of the world, are not to be expected so long as they themselves remain in fellowship with oppressors, apologists of oppression, and those, in the church and ministry who are quarrelling with their faithful testimony against oppression. The entire scope of scripture prophecy is however, opposed to their anticipations. The utter overthrow of oppression, of oppressors, and of hypocritical professors and false teachers, is evidently to precede and to prepare the way for the plenitude of those divine manifestations.

For the Principia.  
GOD PUNISHES BOTH SIDES.

NUMBER II.

This truth was exemplified in the civil war between Benjamin and the other states of Israel. It was terribly demonstrated in the devouring conflict between Abimelech, and the men of Shechem, in alliance with the house of Millo. Those instructive sketches of sacred History were introduced in a preceding article.

For what reason, then, can either side, in our civil war, expect to escape punishment? God is the same, yesterday, and to-day, and forever; and he says, "judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet: and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place. Your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through; then ye shall be trodden down by it."—Is. 28 : 17, 18.

From such terrible threatenings and deserved judgments no part of our country can claim exemption. We are all, if not equally, guilty. For almost seventy-four years, we have been a nation of men-stealers and oppressors. In 1787, we adopted the Constitution. In that instrument, we bound ourselves "by-paths of the covenant," "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Such was the covenant of "the people," by "the people," and for "the people." Without any "bill of exceptions," it covered every inherent human right. It was the Declaration of Independence embodied in the action of those who achieved it; and it became, at once, the Palladium of every man, woman and child, of whatever stature, features, form, or complexion. From the very hour that this compact was ratified and became "the supreme law of the land," slavery constitutionally ceased.

Why, then, did not slavery actually, as well as constitutionally, cease, at once and forever? Because "the people," by their representatives, began, immediately, to violate the covenant into which they had entered. It is probable that very few had read, and still fewer studied the instrument which they adopted. They were told and believed what was indeed true, that the Constitution was exactly what was needed to exemplify the axioms and secure the objects of the Declaration. They accordingly rallied at the polls, endorsed the doings of the Convention, and thought their liberties secure. This done, they went about their business, gave to his farm, son or wife, his merchandise,

But no sooner had this oath been sworn by the people than politicians, demagogues, and even statesmen began to tread it in the dust. In order to set aside and nullify this covenant with God and the representatives of his "image," they entered into a covenant with death and an agreement with hell, "to crush out and brutalize humanity. From the commencement of the Federal Government, designing, selfish usurpers, reckless of human rights and of justice, determined to "rule or ruin." An other class, equally un-

righteous and even more sordid, cared more for the glitter of coin than for the insignia of power. Lucifer was their god; and they said to the others, "give us the gain, and you shall bear rule, put the thirty pieces in our bag, and you may fit all the power and trust." Thus was liberty to be crucified, not between, but by the two thieves; for the thieves were to be the executioners.

Aside from those who entered into those "death and hell"—stipulations, "the people" generally, both North and South, never suspected that the government, administered upon the basis of the Constitution, would fail to extend and secure universal emancipation. The Northern States, accordingly, began to act, in good faith, upon the covenant made by "the people" and to enfranchise those who had been held in bondage.

Soon, however, the "Cotton Gin" began to expound our "National Charters." Its lucrative operations dazzled the eyes of cotton-growers, slave-breeders, office-seekers and money-makers, in all parts of the Union. The temple of freedom, erected by our fathers, "overlaid with pure gold" and adorned with "all manner of precious stones," was metamorphosed into a prison-house; its sanctum sanctorum into "a den of thieves;" its "little chambers" were convenient depositories for manacles and fetters; upon its altars and "table of show-bread," were to be exhibited the cowhide, the scorpion-whip, the revolver, and all slaveholding implements of torture; the brazen sea must become a fountain of blood; the court must be a slave mart; and the steps of the edifice a convenient stand for the auctioneer!

In another number, allow me to give some additional reasons why God may be expected to punish both sides in our civil war.

M. THACHER.

For the Principia.  
A STATE CHURCH.

Sir Archibald Allison, the same who, in his history of Modern Europe, advocates the reduction of the Irish people to slavery, is out in the papers, in reply to Mr. Clay's letter to the London Times. Sir Archibald rejoices in the probability, that as far as the South is concerned, the idea of (a monarchy) is likely to be realized. If this idea cannot be realized for the whole Union, then he thinks, as the next best thing, a consolidated Republican Government, with a National Church, might yet save us. He says: "Had a National Church been provided by Gen. Washington, consequences would have been given to the various States of the Union; but as that was not done, disruption, in the long run, was the inevitable result." Since Gen. Washington neglected to provide for us, Sir A. advises that "Congress should put forth a provisional scheme adequate to the emergency," including, of course, a National Church, to have in keeping, the conscience of the nation—a church that, sustained by the power and patronage of the office-holders should make man-stealing so reputable, that hereafter, every effort to awaken public conscience, should be drowned with the cry "Great is Diana of the Ephesians—away with these pestilent fellows from the earth!"—until, at last, another "May Flower" with a little band of freedom lovers, should sail for some uninhabited island of the sea, there to preach again a pure free gospel.

We say no, to Sir Archibald. There is power in conscience to break bars of steel, and overthrow walls of adamant; already has it, in this land, sundered three National Church organizations, and risen stronger from the conflict, and until you can break down and break up a free press, and gather up and burn up all the Bibles in the land, no State Church can bind Puritan conscience in the following opposition.

We commend Sir Archibald to the scrap of Irish history in a recent number of the Principia, where he might learn that only a few centuries ago, his ancestors were selling their own children<sup>1</sup> to their more enlightened Irish neighbors, and that the trade might have been continued until this time, if the Irish clergy had not advised their people not to buy. I have little patience with those who build up institutions for the aggrandizement of the privileged class, to

<sup>1</sup> To this Sir Archibald might, we fear, draw a parallel, that the colonizing aristocracy of America are even now, selling their own slaves as slaves. But perhaps he has not heard of this, for his father was a slave-trader and governor of a colony them for his Master.

which they suppose themselves to belong, of which right "They bind heavy burdens and lay them on men's shoulders, but they touch them not with one of their fingers. Let such men beware. Already some such *Medes* of desolation have been worth over in a day, and the builders smothered in their ruins."

W. E. W.

[Sir Archibald Allsone might, perhaps, be somewhat consoled for the lack of a "State Church" on this side of the water, if he could be informed of the progress making by ecclesiastical and pseudo-ecclesiastical bodies, ex parte councils, and "metropolitan" Deacons of Divinity, towards effecting a control of the public conscience, almost as absolute as that of a "State Church." Isaac Taylor's "*Spiritual Despotism*" could show him how this was effected, long before the "State Church" under Constantine.—Editor.]

The following was intended for *spiritual* insertion, but has been, with many other articles, unavoidably deferred. In the mean time it is published, in the hope that it will be of service to some persons who seem to demand it. Knight-errant bade defiance to sober reasoning, but yielded to the humorous pen of Cervantes. We have our ecclesiastical and ethical Knights-errant, who bid defiance to logic and outrage common sense. Why should they be exempted from merited ridicule? Wholly, in his "Triumph" made the first really successful onset upon the theological field, at which his arrows were aimed. We have a race of Conservative Quixotes as resolutely bent upon perpetuating ecclesiastical proscriptio[n] of needed Reformation as was the renowned knight de la Mancha to perpetuate the order and the exploits of knighthood. Why should they not have a humorous touch, now and then? The youthful writer has, evidently, a talent in that line, which he will be likely to cultivate, if similar subjects and occasions present themselves before him.

DOINGS OF THE ANTI-CHEEVER "EX-PARTÉ COUNCIL."

*Set forth in Ryme, by A YOUNG PURITAN.*

At Clinton Hall, five days, in thought profound,  
A weighty Council sit in order round:  
They sat together anxious and distressed,  
Weighed down with heavy cares and much oppressed.  
Declare, oh, muse! what Council that may be,  
Who are the councillors and what their p[er]s[on]s?  
"Ex-Parte" is the Council's Latin name;  
The English of it I shall now proclaim.  
Or, rather, by my verse you soon shall know,  
What name your judgment on it would bestow.  
The councillors are clergymen of note,  
Gathered from distant States, to give their vote  
On the grave question, Did that Church do right?  
That Church that is forever in a fight—  
In the suspension, summary and bold,  
Of six poor sheep from their accustomed fold?  
And to consider other matters, too,  
Grievances manifold, both old and new.

Twas Thursday when this weighty Council met,  
And first, according to the alphabet,  
They call the roll, and with one voice decide  
That Sturtevant as Chairman shall preside.  
Then from his seat a member, rising slow,  
Addressed the Chair and said, "I want to know  
Whether this Council, by their conversation,  
Intend to slander Cheever's reputation."  
This question brought great Bacon to his feet,  
Who said: "Why, think you, did this Council meet,  
If not to throw contempt on Cheever's name,  
And rob him of his great and mighty fame,  
Which, if not checked, will soon o'erwhelm us all,  
E'en us who sit to-day within this hall?"  
He ceased, and other members gave their views;  
They talk at once, and the whole room confuse.  
At length they all agree that their true plan  
is to attack the Church, and thus the man.  
Even proud Bacon was of this convinced,  
Although to yield his point he greatly wished.  
Thus the first day was brought unto a close,  
And till the morn they in peace repose.

They met again: the question was announced,  
When up in haste some half a dozen bounded,  
But, far before the rest, a female tall,  
Whose voice raised high, at once arrested all.  
Twas even she who, marvellous to say,  
Not long before to England bent her way,  
To aid that Church she now would fain destroy,  
And drive the pastor off with secret joy.  
In her right hand she held a pamphlet large,

In which was written many a heavy charge  
Holding it up so long, with pained look,  
That soon the Council would read it over,  
With generous warmth the revised document.  
Although I have not long been pamphlet read,  
I know it's to the point, so give it me,  
And I will read it to the company.

He spoke—the whole assembly were agreed.  
Taking the book, he then began to read.  
But such a mixture ne'er was heard before,  
Of grievances and losses, whines, and more  
Than I can rightly put into rhyme,  
Even though I labored at it all the time.  
The worthy Council soon began to tire,  
And one old member thus expressed his ire.  
"Chairman," he said, "I beg you'll stop that book.  
For really, sir, its length I cannot brook."

Another cried, "Becon! go on! go on!"  
Though it is long, it will in time be done."

Bacon looked puzzled, yet to stop the row,  
"Chairman," he cries, "I'll finish it, I vow."  
The Chairman acquiesced in Bacon's want,  
And the old member did at last relent.  
An hour had passed, on went the reading still,  
While groans and cries and yawns the hall did fill.  
At length the tedious pamphlet reached its close,  
The Doctor sat, and half a dozen rose.  
Then the discussion did at length begin;  
But first 'twas mooted who the floor should win,  
For here stood Abernethy—there stood Hall,  
Here Harvey, Phelps, and White—there Blackmer tall.  
First Harvey gained the floor, and soon began  
A tirade on the pastor, worthy man.

"He is a pope, a perfect pope," he said,  
"And all his Church are by his dictates led.  
Chairman, I can't endure him—no, I can't,  
And what is more, I never shall—I shan't!"  
With this emphatic word he closed his speech,  
And forthwith the suspended brethren, each,  
Declared his tale of grievances and wrong,  
All which the Council pondered, deep and long.  
And after this, one of the Council said:

"I've heard, or in the papers I have read,  
That you have tried the building to secure:  
How is it that now? pray tell me, are you sure?"  
At this, shewed Chester rose, appearing sad;  
"Could we but get it, we would not be glad!"  
But ah! he said, "that troubous Dr. Hartt,  
And Fairbank, Noyes, and Gilbert are too smart.  
Our foes have formed a firm, united band,  
And all the offices are in their hand.  
We've tried and toiled and hoped, and hoped again,  
But all our labors are forever vain."

At this poor Abernethy gave a groan,  
And wealthy Rigney answered with a moan.  
The worthy Bacon next obtained the floor,  
And spoke for two long weary hours or more.  
Said he: "Hear, all that sit within this hall,  
That Cheever's Church is not a Church at all.  
You are the Church, 'ere you they did suspend,  
On you the hopes of Zion still depend.

Form, then, a Church yourselves, and take the name  
Of Puritans, and let it be your aim  
To find a good, conservative old man,  
To preach to you as *soothly* as he can.  
Do this, and to the council leave the rest.  
And you shall find that all is for the best."

With such like counsels Bacon cheered their heads,  
For he was *killed* in all those little arts.  
Nor when the shades of evening gathered round,  
And no one on had the lamp alight,  
Each one was seated by his wife or ease,  
And quizzily mused with ruminating tact,  
That the worthy city right well did gain  
That the worthy city right well did gain.  
That the worthy city right well did gain.  
When this was done, they appointed a Committee,  
Composed of men a' new, nimble sharp and witty  
Whose business was to frame the grand decision,  
With wisdom fraught and powerful erudition.  
Then *as* a motion made and carried, yes,  
They adjourned to meet again the following day.

Saturday cam'. The weighty Council met,  
Although the day was cloudy, dark and wet,  
Throughout the day the conference went on  
But as I have already given out,  
I pass it over with the single thought  
That all their talking did amount to nought.

The great Committee being prepared,  
The Board assembled, and to their home repaired.  
On Monday then again appeared in state,  
The Council's great decision to await.  
But as 'tis proper that the truth be told,  
One Cobb, of Syracuse, a layman bold,  
Appeared not with them, but aside withdrew,  
Diagnosed with the course they did pursue.  
The doings of this day are hid from me.  
The war was brought about very simply thus  
The Council, feeling that their *sovereign* base,  
Ordered that all outsiders leave the place.  
Then closed the pond'rous doors with bolt and bar,  
To keep out all intruders distant far.

Twas Thompson first this bright idea caught,  
And straightway to accomplish it he sought.  
Said he: "If those reporters here should stay,  
We know not what the newspapers might say  
Sure will they be our terms to misapply,  
And fail our holy motives to destroy—  
Our *enemies* they never will perceive,  
And all the world their falsehoods will believe.  
Close then the doors, and keep a watchful guard,  
Lest they our high commands should disregard."  
Then might be seen a hurrying to and fro,  
The people all with the reporters go.  
Soon they are out, and the great doors are closed.  
The mighty Council then in peace reposed.  
Now a thick curtain vails from human eyes  
Both the great Council and what they devise;  
So my poor pen lo doubt and blindness goes,  
For what they're doing now, no mortal knows.  
One thing I know, and that I will relate,  
That the Committee made their longer wait.  
For no decision did they find that night,  
And so they all adjourned in sorry plight.

On Tuesday the grave Council re-unite.  
And to their task they go with all their might.  
When the Committee rose and gave the clerk  
Their great decision, their laborious work.  
The clerk then, rising, stood before them all,  
And read full twenty chapters, great and small.  
The first referred to hallowed British gold,  
A story which by this time has grown old.  
But know, that when its numbers cease to give,  
The church must starve or seek some means to live.  
Again, they said the Church had once abus'd  
A lady whose admittance they refused.  
When asked if she the pastor would uphold,  
She said, "I do not know till time will unfold."  
Then said the Church, not to their duty blind,  
"Wait, then, until you have made up your mind."  
Another charge referred to the admission  
Of Mr. Hall without his *law* permission  
But no complaint against him could they find,  
Except that he with others had combined  
To thwart the lawless schemes of Smith and White.  
And their "Leacomptonian" drag to light.  
Another grave and pond'rous charge they brought,  
For Abernethy had in *bold* voice  
A trial from the church, the name to clear.  
But this request the church refused to hear,  
Until the pastor, who was then away,  
Should come to controvert what he might say.  
In view of this the trial was postponed.

Which set the great Committee much bemused.  
Then came that charge, the gravest of them all,  
That charge which hastened the momentous call  
Of the great Council, that the Church had dared  
To cut off an old member, unprepared,  
Without a trial, which was their just due.  
Although the Chirr is their duty fully knew,  
But these six worthy gentlemen were they  
Who labored earnestly, with night and day,  
Their pages to read, to review,  
And *want* to add to give a blow.  
Such was the *heat* of the charge all,  
Their magnitude the *small* did appall.  
Then came the great moment, such desired  
Whose long delay the *whit* by *Chirr* was tired.  
The clerks proceeded, he scarce can read it right.  
His great excitement quite obscures his sight.  
He reads: the whole assembly are intent,  
And in their eagerness each head is bent.  
"Hear the decision," then *do* *the* *clerk* exclaims.  
"Prepared by men of honorable names—  
No more shall Cheever's church with us unite—

Let be banished ever from our sight,  
From the whole body who we represent,  
Until the day on which we shall repent.  
Let this decision be proclaimed to all  
The *high* *ones* represented in this hall,  
That they may ratify our sentence just,  
Which they will do, we humbly hope and trust.  
And as for you, ye six suspended men,  
Your number shall be raised to ten times ten.  
And you shall form a Church which soon shall vie  
With the proud Unitane whereon you defy.  
A pastor good and true you shall obtain,  
Instead of cheever, who has grown insane.  
The Council then their *just* *saint* pronounced,  
And from their minds dismiss a heavy care,  
While from their hall they to their homes repair.  
Rejoice, oh man! and sing with greatest joy,  
And let thy pleasure be without alloy.  
The great decision is at length pronounced.  
And to the world it freely is announced.  
No war or bloodshed does its path attend,  
Neither do thunders roar, nor earthquakes rend.  
The sun yet brightly shines within the sky,  
And the pale moon delights the gazer's eye.  
The church still stands, the *hulk* of the State,  
And for their pastor true his people wait.  
It stands, as ever, full on Union Square,  
Defying threats, which are but empty air.  
Long may it stand, o'ercomning every foe,  
I feel within me that it must be so!"

## THE TRIBUNE'S DEMANDS.

For some weeks past, the Tribune has been demanding the occupancy of Richmond by the 20th of July. "Onward to Richmond!" has been its marching order, totally regardless of the numbers or the appliances requisite for the enterprise. A strong popular impulse has been created in favor of "onward to Richmond!" The people demanded it, said the Tribune. Whether in consequence of the popular demand, urged on by the Tribune, or no, the onward march has commenced, and has terminated in a retreat.

Forthwith, in hot haste, without waiting to inquire after the particulars or the special causes of the sad issue of its own favorite measure, the Tribune *stirs*, in the name of the people, another demand. What is it?

"A decimated and indigent people will demand the immediate retirement of the present Cabinet from the high places of power, which, for one reason or another, they have shown themselves incompetent to fill."

The Tribune may possibly be right, this time. The Administration may be incompetent. We fear the ultimate event will prove it to have been so. If it does, one symptom of the incompetency, we think, is set forth in the *N. Y. Times*, when it says—since the last battle—

"We are harboring, to-day, at Washington, and feeding from the public treasury, legions of spies, who, every evening, communicate to Richmond, and to the rebel Generals, the condition and movement of all our forces, and we have no doubt, Cabinet conferences, as well as the plans of our military officers. *We have this far only played, not enacted war.* We have not yet got over those amicable weaknesses that ion for Foster and Harper's Ferry. *We have something else to do, instead of casting rebels one day, and letting them go the next.*

This, we said, is one of the symptoms. What is the *le* cause? What can it be but "amicable weakness" in favor of slaveholders, and in deference to *slavery*?

It will do no good to change the Cabinet, unless you have a Cabinet determined to *put down slavery*, which is the core and essence of the rebellion. Put Greeley, Seward, Giddings, Lovejoy, or anybody else that can be mentioned, into the Cabinet, and, without determining upon a *total* abolition of slavery, they would find it impossible to do justice to the present Cabinet are doing. This arises from a *law* *human* nature, from which *law* *can* be no escape.

To permit *as* *slavery* of slaves *to* *recognize* the *organization* as *slaves* *not* *make* *assassination* to them.

The tobacco crop of the United States for 1861 amounted to 1,000,000 hds., valued at \$1,000,000.

The Rev. Dr. Stowe, of New Haven, Secretary and Agent of the "American Anti-Slavery Society," has gone to give aid and comfort to the enemy. His two sons have also joined the rebel army.

# The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1861.

LETTERS ON topics for the Principia should be addressed to M. H. WILLIAMS, the Publisher.

Letters for the Editor, whether for his consideration, or for publication, should be addressed to W. L. GOMMELL.

Opinions for the Editor, or pamphlets may be addressed to either of the above.

In all cases, the *Uncommon* matter should be on a slip of paper separate from arguments or communications for the Editor, because business papers have no right to be mixed up with them. The same reason, which is the reason for the Publisher should be on one slip of paper, and master designed for the Editor's attention or use should be on another, though all may be put into one envelope, and directed to either.

All letters for us should be carefully directed to 329 Pearl street, New York, Post office, street, next to the *Journal*, at the address of Wm. Gommell, where all of his correspondence is sent.

This is the more important note, as the address of our friends, is now removed; and letters directed there will be liable to helot.

## A NATION—OR A CONFEDERACY?

*Are we a nation, with a National Government of the people? Or, are we a Confederacy of absolutely Sovereign States?*

President Lincoln, his Cabinet, and the United North affirm the former.

Jeff. Davis and the Confederate States, affirm the latter. They attempt to act out their political creed by seceding, and we call them rebels. We attempt to enforce upon them our political creed, and they call us usurpers, for doing so.

*Which is right?* We say we are. They say they are. But in one thing all lookers on must agree, and it is in this, namely, that if either party would maintain its position, it must act out its creed. Both parties cannot succeed; one must fail, even if both act out their respective beliefs. Nevertheless, it is certain that if the one party acts out its creed, and the other fails to do so, then the party that thus fails, will almost inevitably, in the end, be defeated.

Are we, of the loyal States, acting out our creed? Is the Administration doing it? Is Congress doing it? Are our Generals doing it?

If we are a *Nation*, then the inevitable responsibilities of nations and of nationality rest upon us. Unless we honor those responsibilities by discharging the duties involved in them, we fail to act out our creed, and must ultimately fall of maintaining our position. If our Government will not do the work of a National Government, then its pretense of being a National Government will be disgraced before the world, and the nations of the earth will cease to regard it, as such, in its contest with the Rebels, who, in that case, will be considered Rebels no longer.

To illustrate:

If our nation and its Government fail to maintain their authority over the nation, their nationality is not, in fact, maintained, and there will be no such fact for foreign nations nor for the Rebels, or the Rebel States to recognize.

So also, if our Nation and its Government fail to defend themselves from enemies abroad, they fail of maintaining their nationality, and are blotted from the list of sovereign nations.

All this will be readily acknowledged by everybody; and not another word need be said in proof, or illustration of it.

*But what is implied in the statement?*

What is it for a Government to fail of maintaining its authority over a nation? Is what goes the legitimate authority of a nation and of a National Government? What must be done, in order to the exercise and maintenance of such authority? For authority cannot be maintained, unless it be exercised in this nation, and its government are now beginning to realize.

In order to exercise, and to maintain its authority, as a National Government, that government must retain its revenues, must collect its revenues, must suppress insurrection, must put a stop to aggressions upon its rights, must protect its *legal* subjects in the enjoyment of their natural rights.

Failing to do this, the government fails to maintain itself as a National Government, and falls into contempt at home and abroad.

Everybody, it may be presumed, will acknowledge all this, and will admit that if, in the present struggle, the government fails in either one of these particulars, it fails, ultimately, in all of them.

As for example, if it fails to hold or to regain its forts, it can neither collect the revenue nor defend the country from enemies abroad or conspirators at home. If it cannot collect its revenues, it can neither retain nor regain its forts, nor suppress insurrection, nor defend the country, nor protect its loyal subjects. So also, if it cannot suppress the insurrection, it must be thwarted and overcome by it, and can neither hold its forts, nor collect its revenue, nor protect its citizens.

Finally, and above all, if it cannot and does not protect its *loyal* subjects, it fails utterly and fatally of maintaining itself as a National Government. For the ultimate object of all Civil Government is the protection of its loyal subjects. Allegiance is conditioned on protection. Where the latter fails, the former fails with it. A government failing to protect its subjects, fails of their support, ceases to be a government, and becomes either a cipher or an oppressor.

Imagine our National Government abandoning the protection of its subjects, and you imagine it falling to pieces, abandoned and despised. Imagine it abandoning the protection of one half its subjects, and you imagine it losing half its support, and so on, in proportion to any other number of unprotected subjects. The greater the population it protects, the greater the support it gets in return.

The subjects of a Government are the human inhabitants within its geographical limits.

The subjects of our National Government, if we have, or are to have, a National Government, are the human inhabitants within the boundaries of the nation.

When the government protects all these, in all sections of the country, then, and not until then, is its authority established in all sections of the country.

The loyal States are those in which the government protects all the inhabitants. The disloyal States are those in which the government does not protect, and has not protected all the inhabitants, leaving large portions of them unprotected. And this failure to protect all the inhabitants is the sole cause of the Rebellion, the sole cause that perpetuates the Rebellion. The moment the government protects all the inhabitants of all the States, that moment its authority over all the States is established.

Let the government proclaim protection to all the inhabitants of Maryland, to-day, the very proclamation, in the presence of the Federal forces now in Maryland, would almost instantly produce the fact of such protection, because it would rally to the support of the government, those who have hitherto been without protection. Even without any Federal forces in Maryland, other than the inhabitants thus brought under protection, the protection would become a fact within a month or sooner.

And the fact of National protection to all the inhabitants of Maryland, would be the fact of the restored authority of the Federal Government in Maryland—the end of all Rebellion, and all danger of Rebellion in Maryland.

Just so of Virginia, of Kentucky, of North Carolina, and of every disaffected or rebel State. Just as far as Federal authority is carried, just so far will the Federal authority be established, and the Rebellion extinguished, and no farther.

No government was ever overthrown by a Rebellion that protected equally and impartially, all the rights of all the inhabitants.

Much labor has been expended to prove that the present rebellion is, above all others, a *causeless rebellion*, because the rights of the South have never been violated—meaning, by the South, the *slaveholders*, a *less* minority of the inhabitants, and forgetting that the majority had a *right to protection*, which right has been withheld, and that hence comes the rebellion.

It will be said, and said truly, that it was not this neglected and unprotected *minority* that rebelled. And it will be inferred that our argument fails at this point. Not so! For (heb-id the wisdom and justice of God) He has constituted the oppressors themselves the avengers of the oppressed, to punish them and to avenge them for its great sin, in withholding protection.

Not only so. It is not strictly true that the *united* and

its government have violated the rights of the slaves *per se*. They were justly entitled to the sanitary resources of equal and just laws, from which no people under heaven can afford to be exempted. Men need the *protection* of Civil Government, to preserve them from becoming *oppressors*, as truly as they need the *protection* of Civil Government to prevent their being *oppressed*. We have deeply injured the slaveholders, in permitting them to be *slaveholders*, from generation to generation, and God intends, if they do not, that they shall *avenged* the injury we inflict, thus done to them.

Many people expect to see the National Government establish its authority over the whole nation, while leaving four millions of the people without national protection. They will say it *has been so*, and *will be so again*.

They are mistaken in their supposed facts, and still more mistaken in their conclusion. The national authority has never been, in reality, established over the Slave States for the violators of human rights there, have never been restrained by the Federal Government, and their victims have never enjoyed its protection. In other words, the Federal Government *so called*, has never been a Civil Government in reality, in the Slave States. The appearance of it has been an illusion, which has now vanished. There may be an appearance of *family* government, for a time, but not the *reality* where one member of the family is permitted to oppress another, and thus control and insult the family, parents and all.

Nobody pretends that the Federal Government has ever been a government for the slaves of the South, any more than for the horses and oxen of the South; that it has ever required of them the duties of citizens or protected them as such. It has been no government to them. It holds on the non-slaveholding free whites and blacks, has been of the most fragile tenure, for these too, have been subjected to the control of the slaveholders, rather than of the government, and can scarcely be said to be included in the terms,—"the South," "the Southern States," the "Sovereign States"—terms monopolized by the *slaveholders*.

Then, so far from having been, at any time, under the control of the Federal Government, have been its controlling masters, wielding it as their instrument, and rebelling against it, the first moment when it attempted to deny its supremacy in everything. The authority of the Federal Government over the Southern States, is yet a thing of the future. If the idea is ever to be realized, it must be by the protection of all the inhabitants of those States. Were it possible, as probably it is not, to restore the appearance of Federal authority over the South, without the abolition of slavery, the appearance would be, as heretofore, a deception. The slaveholders would rule the country, as before.

But it does not follow that the former state of things can be restored because it existed once. There is a progression and a result in human affairs. Slavery has had its rise, progress and culmination, in this country. The same gradual process is not to be repeated. The past is not to be re-enacted over again. The delusion is dispelled. The thirty-four States are not to meet again in our Congress, nor unite in choosing another President, until slavery is abolished.

In other words, the question whether the thirty-four United States, so called, are United States, composing ONE NATION, or whether they are, or rather have, been, a mere confederacy of States, which confederacy, in respect to the so-called States, is now dissolved, is simply and solely the question whether the Federal Government *shall* *successfully* protect all the inhabitants of the United States, "by establishing justice, and securing the blessings of liberty," as the Constitution requires.

And let it be well understood, this protection to all the people of the United States, and their posterity, *must* be an exercise of *national authority*, not the result of negotiation, compromise, compensation, and arrangement, between the National Government, and the "Sovereign States!" The very proposal to open such a negotiation, or to enter into such an arrangement, is virtually, a proposal to acknowledge the supremacy of the States—equivalent to a confession that we are not a nation, that "the rebels" are right in their theory of a "confederacy of States," in opposition to a National Government of the people, and that we, the *loyal* States, are unscrupulous aggressors upon State rights.

## THE NATIONAL DISASTER.

The noble cause of the Federal Army in Virginia, its loss of artizany, and especially of life, cannot otherwise be regarded than as a great national calamity, calling for humilitation and prayer, as well as for consolation, forecast, and fortitude.

The public journals are already discussing the occasions of the failure, and ascribing it to this, that, and the other approximate causes. Much as they disagree and wrangle about those there may be, and doubtless there is, a degree of truth in some of their criticisms. But this is not delving to the bottom of the difficulty. Divine Providence controls human affairs, for high moral ends. God has a controversy with us. "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." The war is itself the effect and the punishment of our great national sin (the tolerance of oppression), the neglect to "execute judgment for the oppressed." Yet the war has been, and still is, prosecuted on the policy of conciliating the oppressors, and sparing the oppressed—of protecting and perpetuating, instead of crushing the known and acknowledged cause of the war! On the very eve of entering upon this specific enterprise, a special order was issued for excluding fugitive slaves from the army, the very persons who would readily have given us the local information we most needed, which could nowhere else be procured, and the lack of which, more than all other secondary causes that can be mentioned, has evidently occasioned the disaster. It was an order for the repetition of the very same folly that was known to have been the prooing cause of the disaster at Big Bethel. And our Generals know where the concealed batteries were, they could, with the utmost ease, have avoided them. But no. They chose to be in ignorance, rather than learn of the slaves! Since the day of Braddock's fatal defeat, there had not been committed a more palpable piece of folly, in military life. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of the wisdom," on the battle-field as elsewhere.

When the army, ostensibly engaged in the support of Government and its authority, repelled the aid of those who most need and who are most entitled to the protection of Government, it renounced the authority, and spurned the aid of the Great Source and founder of all Government, and He left it to flee, in a causeless panic, as other armies thus deserted by Him have fled, in other times. When the army excluded and repelled the least of the Messiah's brethren, the naked, the hungry, the imprisoned, they did unto Him, breaking His hands asunder, and casting away His cords from them: and then He "weeded them in His sore displeasure." Let them take heed lest they perish from the way, when His wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are they that put their trust in Him."

Read the Second Psalm, and compare with Matt. xxviii. 31-46.

A REMARKABLE COINCIDENCE.—The communications of Rev. M. Thacher, the first of which appeared in the *Principia* of last week, and the second appears in the present number, under the head of "God punishes both sides," were both written and furnished us by him more than two months ago. From incidental causes, their publication has been deferred until, the course of Providence, the crisis has arrived which so evidently calls for them. The first number was in print, and in the hands of our readers, *just before* the thunderbolt of "punishment" upon "both sides" fell; and the second was in the hands of the printer before the event too<sup>o</sup> place. This is the reading, the writing comes first then the stroke—the doctrine first then the practical illustration and application—"He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

## News of the Day.

Our last week's diary of the war, closed with the occupancy of Fairfax Court House by the Federal troops, the enemy having fled; the retreat of General Johnson with his rebel forces from Bunker's Hill, and the reported arrival of him by Gen. Patterson.

Great events have taken place since that time. Gen. Patterson it seems failed in his purpose. He was to be the conqueror of the *Journal*, surely. If it had not been Monday, supposed that Gen. J. Johnson was really called to reach Manassas Junction, and reinforce the rebel army there, with his 25,000 men.

Gen. McDowell, in the meantime, has been moving forward with the Federal armywards. Manassas Junction has had two encounters with the enemy at Bull's Run, the first a skirmish arising from a reconnaissance on Thursday, the second, a general engagement on Sunday, which regarded a great victory the enemy having retreated, and been pursued to Manassas Junction. We give some of the leading particulars in their order.

**FRIDAY 18.**

**Washington, July 18, 1861.**—By private dispatches received to-night from Bull's Run three miles beyond Centerville, we learn General Tyler has been in action with sharp opposition from the rebels, on whom about to-day.

It appears that the South Carolinian and Alabama troops that fled from Fairfax Court House yesterday, fell back upon Bull's Run, where they received reinforcements from Minnesota Junction. It is stated that they were too strong, with their masked battery, to be overcome by the single advance brigade under General Richardson, the largest proportion of which force was engaged in skirmishing.—*Herald.*

Gen. Patterson instead of moving to Winchester, as it was supposed he would do, after his occupation of Bunker Hill, went to Charlestown, taking entire possession of that place and occupying Harper's Ferry. The reasons for this change of plan were two: It was discovered that Winchester was defended in such a way that it was not advisable to make a direct attack from the North; it was also considered desirable to protect the Winchester and Potomac Railroads, and thus to prevent the re-opening of the canal, and the rebuilding of the bridge at Harper's Ferry. Communication between the latter place and the North will at once be opened.—*Tribune.*

**SATURDAY, July 19.**

**The fight at Bull's Run on Thursday, continued during most of the day.**

**Bull's Run, 4 P. M., July 19.**—From careful inquiry and personal observation, the number wounded on the Federal side amounts to 60, and the killed 40. Several amputations as to the former had already taken place. The wounded for the greater part are quartered in the old Stone Church, while every attention is being paid to their comfort. Fourteen of the dead were buried this morning. There has been no firing at Bull's Run to-day. The Confederates are still in position, holding their batteries. Their pickets approach to within 150 yards of our lines.

With a spy glass, large bodies of Confederates were seen moving at right and left, apparently extending their line of operations, and line of positions.

Batteries are being erected on our side, commanding the enemy's works, which are of a substantial character.

Owing to the slight repulse with which we have met, the movement against the enemy will be more carefully planned and executed, and greater success will be at first contemplated.

Our troops are all eager for the fight. They have constructed tents with their blankets, down over stacked arms. There is plenty of food, including fresh beef.

The indications are, that there will not be a general forward movement before Sunday morning, unless the enemy shall provoke one.

Special attention is being paid to the Hospital Department and nursing preparations for the sick and wounded. The batteries of the Confederates were scientifically worked.—*Sun.*

To-day's battle is generally pronounced an extended skirmish. Not more than a thousand of our troops were actively engaged at one time.

There were probably 4,000 or 5,000 of the enemy engaged, and large forces held in reserve. Their position is impregnable against any such force as charged it this afternoon.—*World.*

## ORDERS IN REGARD TO FUGITIVE SLAVES.

**Washington, July 19.** General Mansfield has issued the following order:

**HEADQUARTERS DEPT. OF WASHINGTON.**

Fugitive slaves will, under no pretext whatever, be permitted to reside, or be in any way harbored, in the arsenals and camps of the troops serving in this department; neither will such slaves be allowed to accompany the troops on the march. Commanders of troops will be held responsible for a strict observance of this order.

Upon this N. Y. Tribune remarks,

"An army advancing in a hostile region uses procure information, and cannot afford to be nice as to its sources and channels. A *free* black man, a *slave* and a *rebel* are the same, and rear, he uses *neither* *one* *nor* *the* *other*. Central Virginia swarms with irregular bands, and brigades with unknown histories. These forces are very doubtful, if necessarily undiscernible, in their movements. Too numerous a margin is left to render this safe."

Our own marching column, from Virginia must be *especially* *guarded* *so* *as* *to* *what* *is* *before* *them*, and they are *far* *more* *safely* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *our* *friends*.

Gen. Scott has issued a general order to all the troops, forbidding them to accept any fugitives, or to give any information to any slave, or to any person who may be in search of a slave.

We judge that the aim of the rebels is to sustain which trials the destruction of persons supposed to be fugitives slaves with the forces of the patriotic armies. The mandate probably reads that none are to be received there, which is quite another matter.

The order speaks for itself, and our readers will judge of its meaning. It contains no such discrimination as the *Times* suggests, nor is the practicality of the distinction so apparent. The facts stated by the Tribune show that our armies need all the help from the negroes they can get. And the "order" is evidently designed and adapted to repel them. The "strategy" is evidently *platitudinous* and not military, and smacks less of the camp than of the *exhibit*. It looks more to the defence of shiver, than to the suppression of the rebellion. It tells the slaves to help their masters, for the United States will have none of their help!

**MONDAY, July 22.**

**The second, and Great Battle at Bull's Run.** This morning's dispatches bring us the particulars of the terrible battle of yesterday (Sunday).

**Washington, July 21, 1861—9 P.M.**

The following dispatch from an officer has been received at Fairfax Station, 5:30 P.M.

The enemy accepted battle in full force. A great battle has been fought. The day is ours. The enemy totally routed. Great loss on both sides. I am on the way to Washington with full details.

From another source the following comes:

**Fairfax Station, 5:30 P.M.** The enemy routed. They accepted battle and were routed. Our victory is complete. Their batteries are silenced. Bull's Run bridge taken.—*Tribune.*

**H. J. Raymond furnishes his paper, *The Times*, of this City, a graphic account of what he saw and heard, on the spot, from which we extract the following.**

## TREMENDOUS BATTLE AT BULL'S RUN.

**Bull's Run Bridge, Sunday, July 21—2 P. M.—** The great battle occurred to-day, and the result is not certain the moment I write. Both sides have fought with terrible tenacity. The battle has been hot and steady for three hours, and the loss must be very heavy—certainly not under one thousand on each side.

The Union army advanced from Centreville in three columns, at 3 o'clock this morning. Col. Richardson commanded the left, the road to the right to Bull's Run, where the division of Thomas took place, and Col. Miles lay on the road to Centreville to support him.

Gen. Tyler commanded the central division, which took the Warrenton road—Gen. Schenck and Col. Sherman being in advance. He had the three Consecutent Regiments from Michigan, two from Wisconsin, and the sixtieth and seventy-ninth of New York. Gen. McDowell with Col. Hunter and a very powerful division, went out on this road, which leads directly forward to Manassas, crossing Bull's Run by a stone bridge which had been minnitely repaired.

The real attack was by Hunter, who took a narrow road two miles out leading to the right having Hunter's and the Rhode Island batteries, and leaving Col. Keyes on the road to Centreville as a reserve. His orders were to proceed up the stream, cut himself a path through the woods, cross over, and turn the position of the rebels on the North.

I went out with the centre column. At ten minutes before six we halted about a mile this side of the pass of the road to Centreville. Sixty-ninth and Sixty-third Regiments of New York were held on the right, in the wood, and the First and Second Ohio and the Second New York to the left in advance.

The thirty-second Pennsylvania was placed in the middle of the road, and a *mass* was thrown into the center of the enemy's line, but without eliciting any response. Ten minutes after, we heard firing on our left, from the Rhode Island battery, which was situated at intervals for two hours, and we waited for any reply.

Our troops remained *leisurely*, firing now and then, and at twenty minutes past eight, Ayer's *Cavalry*, *Fairfax*, Sherman's fire *five* *or* *six* *rounds* in the *tassy*, without response. At a nearer before the shot was fired, a *party* *of* *six* *men* *were* *in* *the* *opposing* *skirmishers*, and Garibaldi's *Regiment* *was* *beginning* *to* *fire*. Rhode Island Regiment, was repulsed *at* *first*.

At about *nine* *o'clock*, heavy *artillery* *was* *discharged* *that* *destroyed* *the* *arsenal* *at* *Manassas*, and we *were* *driven* *out* *the* *next* *three* *or* *four* *hours*.

At *11* *o'clock*, *As* *the* *war* *waged* *on* *the* *front*, *New* *York* *was* *driven* *to* *despair* *as* *the* *rebels* *had* *crossed* *the* *extreme* *right*, *for* *in* *the* *valley*.

The Ohio *Regiment* *were* *shed* *blood* *with* *the* *Second* *New* *York*, and ran from a *bridge* *over* *a* *small* *stream*, *in* *the* *gates*,

killed and wounded quite a number of both. Of the latter Michael McCarty, Sergeant of Company H, was wounded, and afterwards was reported dead. Lieutenant Dempsey received a slight wound. Some twenty or thirty of the Ohio regiment broke and ran, but the rest stood firm, as did the Second New York. Captain's battery fought right up to the front on the right, and soon drove the rebels out of their masked position.

It was now 11 o'clock, when Harriet's column appeared across the Run advancing on the flank of the rebels, and the engagement soon became very active in his position. He kept steadily advancing, pouring in a steady fire of artillery and musketry.

The whole Brigade under Tyler was ordered forward to his support. The Sixty-ninth and Seventy-ninth New York, the First and Second, and Third Connecticut, and the Second Wisconsin were sent in. A constant roll of musketry marked Hunter's advance, and the artillery from our column played mostly on the flanks of the rebels. So far as I could see, the latter had only half their force engaged, and were holding the road directly in front of where I stood, across which they charged twice with the bayonet upon our troops, but where repulsed each time. Our men crossed the road and poured in upon them a terrible fire of artillery and musketry.

I write this at 2 o'clock, and am compelled to close in order to give you all the news. I have just come to the front, and the fight is still going on with great energy. The rebel batteries have again commenced firing upon us, and their balls and shells fall thick upon the road and in the field which I had selected as my observatory.

Gen. Schenck and two batteries are ordered up to repulse an attempt of cavalry to outflank us. I shall try to send the result in a later dispatch.

H. J. R.

#### SECOND REPORT.

WAMASSEE, Sunday July 21.—Midnight.—I have just come from Centreville expressly to give you the latest news. I left there at half-past four.

The battle has been one of the severest ever fought on this Continent. Up to 10 o'clock our troops had driven the enemy through the village, about three miles, and were in full possession of that part of the field. The enemy fell back in one position, it was only another equally strong, and at every point fresh reinforcements were poured in, almost without limit, as far as numbers. There can be no doubt that their force was at least double ours.

The conduct of all our troops is spoken of in terms of the highest admiration. The New York Eighth redeemed itself in the completed manner. The Sixty-ninth fought with desperate valor.

The Fire Zouaves were terrible cut up. While drawn up to make an attack they were repelled by a concealed battery, with strong support, on their flank, and were forced to retreat. Gen. Slocum, Col. Faribault, and Capt. Jones, Major, Lieut., were killed, but it may not prove true. The latter, at all events, was severely wounded.

Col. Hunter was wounded in the throat.

Col. Slocum, of the Second Rhode Island, and Capt. Towers, of the First, were reported killed.

Gen. McClellan shot a horse shot under him.

Major Ballou, of the Second Rhode Island, was severely wounded in the head and thigh by a cannon ball.

Of the Eighth New York, Mr. Skerry and John Leyden are reported killed.

I shall return in the morning.

H. J. R.

A Correspondent of the Tribune said:

An officer brought news to Centreville which was received with great enthusiasm, that Beauregard sent a flag of truce to Gen. McDowell, which he refused to receive, saying that he was fighting, but an unconditional surrender.

Gen. McDowell was aware of the immense disparity of forces, knowing that Johnston had reinforced Beauregard. Gen. Scott is perfectly confident of the result. He went to church as usual, and half an hour since was asleep. He does not believe the enemy's force is 70,000, although the latest intelligence so estimates it.

Nothing could exceed the triumphant gratulations with which the news, *thus far*, was received in New York City.

The tone of the editorial of the Daily morning papers, was of the same character, and was read with avidity by sympathizing readers. "Splendid Union Victory! The rebels routed! Their last hope gone! They are driven into Manassas Junction! Horroism of the Union forces. They know no such word as fail. Admirable manoeuvring. Ho! chase of the Rebels! Thus, in starting capitals, shouted the Tribune. "The Rebels routed, and driven before the Manassas lines. Yesterday was a glorious day for the National arms, and one which taught rebellion a lesson it will not soon forget," said the Times. "Grand National victory! A decided blow to rebellion. Manassas to be stormed to-day," exclaimed the World. "Our army victorious. Defeat of the Rebels. U. S. in press going forward. Great Union victory."

The Grand Advance. Glorious news. It is certain that the Union troops obtained a decided victory. They silenced all the rebel batteries, and drove the enemy back upon Manassas Junction." So said the Sun. "Union victory. The Rebels routed and driven back to Manassas," says the Herald. "The Rebellion crushed," was phrased at the stands where the morning papers were sold.

This day gives us a correct enough idea of the present sentiments and feelings in this city on Monday morning, and up to about noon. Secessionists and their sympathizers, &c, who we had known as supporters of the rebellion, &c, are now seen as supporters of the Federal cause.

The Rapidan and Harper's—New dispatches arrived near noon, and the scene changed.

**MONDAY AFTERNOON** in passing by the Tribune and Times offices, I took a look at what was to our thinking place, saw crowds around these centres of intelligence, and on approaching, found, in staring bulletin, the announcement of the repulse and retreat, of which the particulars appeared in the afternoon editions of the papers. Never have we witnessed a more sudden change. At the street corners and in the eating houses, sympathy for the rebellion, found utterance in predictions of "reaction, the capture of Washington, the flight of Lincoln, and summary vengeance upon the Abolitionists and Black Republicans."

In the course of an hour, we witnessed several manifestations of the kind. It was not long, however, before the discovery was made that the vast multitudes thronging the thoroughfares were fired on the other side, and the muttering was proudly flushed. Saddened but resolute countenances predominated, and more threats of abolishing slavery, were probably uttered that afternoon, than during all the previous years, the echo of which might be read in the editorial of Wednesday's Times.

**SUBSTANCE OF THE AFTERNOON'S NEWS.** It was briefly this: That the Federal troops had been suddenly repulsed, with great slaughter, 2,500 to 3,000, later dispatches swelling it to 4,000 or 5,000; that the Regiments of N. Y. Fire Zouaves were reduced from 200 to 200; that of the 71st Regiment N. Y., one half were killed; that the fight was precipitate, in great disorder, the panic general and indiscriminate, that the soldiers generally threw away their firearms and knapsacks, to accelerate their flight, that the Ayers' battery and all the artillery was lost, that the Rebel army was chasing, in hot pursuit, and finally, that the immediate capture of Washington was imminent and inevitable.

This latter was substantially repeated in the Herald of the next morning, and in other papers there were signs of uneasiness on the subject. Troops were forwarded in great haste.

#### TUESDAY, 22D.

This morning's dispatches bring further particulars, and with results less unfavorable. "Six hundred of the Zouaves have returned," "Our Regiments not so badly out up," "But 20,000 of the National forces in the action—90,000 rebels in the field," "Exaggerated statements of our losses."

The successful junction of Gen. Johnson with the Rebel army at Manassas is confirmed. The rumor that Gen. Patterson had left Harper's Ferry for the scene of action is contradicted.

"Members of the 1st New York Regiment say that 200 of their number had been captured, but that its loss, killed and wounded, is not severe." "The Zouaves have probably suffered most. Their conduct was beyond all praise."

We pass over further details of this day's dispatches, which are conflicting, hoping that those of later date may be more reliable and satisfactory.

#### WEDNESDAY, 23D.

Accounts, to-day, are on the whole, still less unfavorable. The case is, however, a sad one still. As the first account of the disasters would naturally be exaggerated, so, by a natural reaction, and desire to make the best of it, the danger may now be that the accounts will be too flattering.

The accounts now are that the entire National Army was not routed—that there is still a body of National troops, numbers not known, at Centreville—that our loss, in killed and wounded, is not over six hundred—that the main body, arrived at the Potomac, are now in good order and recovered from their panic.

Rebel dispatches received at Memphis, Tennessee, acknowledge their loss to be three thousand, and that they do not claim a victory. This may have been an exaggeration, as our first dispatches were. It is now said that the Rebel army did not pursue us, yet the citizens of Alexandria, from some cause are still expecting their advance thither. Gen. Patterson is to be superseded by Gen. Banks, and Gen. McClellan is expected to take command of the main army now under Gen. McDowell. "Our greatest deficiency was in cool competent officers." "The men fought bravely." Capt. Alexander, of

the regular army, is charged with cowardice. The rebels excelled in sharp-shooting with rifles. The want of cavalry on our side was greatly regretted.

The *Seventy-First* estimates their loss at about 16,000 killed and wounded. The rebels carried Federal flags, to deceive and decoy our men and their friends upon them. The panic is violent and general. Some 20,000 were occupied by baggage, horses, wagons to the rear for more abundance, and this was mistaken for a retreat. Gen. Patterson is to be removed and his loyalty is suspected.

The Ayers' battery, most of the artillery, and about half of the provision wagons were recovered. The Rebels are charged with acts of great barbarity toward the wounded and dying soldiers who fell into their hands—setting them up as targets, and shooting at them. The New York 69th Regiment (Irish) led the advance in the fight, and are greatly commended by the government.

The *Seventy-Second* of West Virginia, says that the Apalachian is safe. About 60,000 fresh volunteers, it is said, have already offered, and are now accepted. In the mean time, however, and before the raw recruits will have arrived, regiment after regiment of the now initiated and innured, having served out their term, are leaving the army and returning home, so that, for the present, (the very time when an advance of the enemy is apprehended,) our effective force, near Washington, instead of being immediately increased, is in danger of being materially reduced.

White made a speech in the Evening Post, 5 P. M., bringing up that the rebels are at Fairfax, threatening Fairfax Court House, and that their army is 90,000 strong.

"A slave who has just made his escape from the rebels, states that nations for ninety thousand men were issued at Manassas Junction on Sunday."

Pity that all the slaves were properly encouraged to bring us the most amount of aid as well as information within their power.

#### THURSDAY, 24D.

The rumor of the advance of the rebels is confirmed. "Professor Lowe made a balloon reconnaissance, and reports the enemy largely encamped between Fairfax and Centreville." Several families in the Virginia border are removing, apprehending the presence of contending armies. Great activity prevails in the War Department at Washington.

Hon. Alfred Ely, member of Congress from Rochester, N. Y., who was a spectator of the battle, is mysteriously missing.

#### THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

[Special Dispatch to the Evening Post.]

*Washington, July 25.*—The Twenty-eighth and Sixty-ninth regiments of New York leave for home to-day. The men of the Sixty-ninth declare that a majority of that regiment will come back to serve during the war.

The Connecticut regiments which came in latest from the battlefield saved the government two hundred thousand dollars by their collection of stores which had been abandoned during the retreat.

The wife of Professor Arunes, of Fairfax, Virginia, states that ten thousand rebels are in possession of that point.

*Philadelphia, July 25.*—General McClellan is on the express train, and will arrive at this city at two o'clock this afternoon.

The losses of the Fire Zouaves of New York will not prove so serious as was first reported. Nine hundred of the men have come in. Eleven hundred went into the battle, leaving two hundred to be accounted for.

The losses of the Zouaves of New York will not prove so serious as was first reported. Nine hundred of the men have come in. Eleven hundred went into the battle, leaving two hundred to be accounted for.

The losses of the Zouaves of New York will not prove so serious as was first reported. Nine hundred of the men have come in. Eleven hundred went into the battle, leaving two hundred to be accounted for.

The losses of the Zouaves of New York will not prove so serious as was first reported. Nine hundred of the men have come in. Eleven hundred went into the battle, leaving two hundred to be accounted for.

The losses of the Zouaves of New York will not prove so serious as was first reported. Nine hundred of the men have come in. Eleven hundred went into the battle, leaving two hundred to be accounted for.

The losses of the Zouaves of New York will not prove so serious as was first reported. Nine hundred of the men have come in. Eleven hundred went into the battle, leaving two hundred to be accounted for.

Last evening I made out the first Rhode Island regiment. He had seen six hours without sleep, and had marched from Fairfax Court House, when he reached the steps of the house of Professor Ely, who took him, had him eat a warm bath, and let bed, where he slept ten hours. After supper, he told us of the incidents of the battle as far as they came under his observation. Their regiments brought up the rear of the retreating, and he saw those who fell wounded and riven by fire, bayoneted by the chary

What will mankind say to this?—in the course of hours from a scholar and a student of the '67, whose testimony is every way reliable. What will mankind say to such conduct as this?

That is my doubt that our troops arrived upon the field of battle physically unfeared for the terrible effects which were to ensue. Look at the Custer massacre, as it was in the moment without breakfast, marching rapidly to the scene of action, a distance of from four to seven miles by the several routes, and without dinner or refreshments of any kind, rushing on a double quick into the face of the strongholds of the well prepared enemy, it is surprising that they stood as long and as well as they did. For hours they fought like veterans, charging and recharging, and performing a series of remarkable movements no less difficult than daring. In the midst of a tornado of shot and shell, they charged upon the rebels, plowing them down as though protected by impenetrable walls. Volunteers never fought better, and but for the loss of many officers, the ignorance of the roads and the want of rallying points, the retreat, precipitate and unexpected as it was, would have been made in good order. The confusion was the natural result of a hasty withdrawal from the field, without an intimation where or how to go. If the country had been open where an observation of the enemy's position could now and then be had, there would have been no panic.

#### FRIDAY MORNING.

The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of yesterday, has the following:

Our informant, (a wealthy Virginian,) says that it was a most fortunate thing for the Union troops that they did not drive the rebels beyond Manassas, as the battle lasted for what seemed to the spectators of the Junction, the ground for many acres, in the most artless manner, and of gunpowder placed there.

It was the intention of Beauregard, if driven back, to wait until the Federal army had moved forward upon their mines, when they would have been fired, and the Union troops blown to atoms.

24,000 negroes making entrenchments.—Our informant thinks that the government is not at all aware of the extent of these rebel preparations to destroy our troops. Upwards of twelve thousand negroes were employed to work on the intrenchments at Manassas, and about the same number were employed to work on the intrenchments at Richmond.

The rebel forces are said to be in occupancy of Fairfax Court House, and extending their lines within three miles of Alexandria.

Baltimore, July 28.—It is reported that Gen. Beauregard has gone in the direction of Harper's Ferry.

This induces the suspicion that it is intended to advance in that direction to Baltimore and secure that city, and a reinforcement of the 17,000 rebels said to be there, and then march on Washington, from that side.

Gen. Patterson excuses his failure to meet Gen. Johnson by saying that he had but 20,000 men, while Johnson had 35,000. The correctness of this is doubted.

Gov. Morgan of New-York has issued a proclamation calling for 25,000 volunteers.

Troops are pouring in from all quarters.

CONGRESSION.—Large numbers of the members, it is said, spent the Sabbath with the army, witnessing the battle—the victory—the repulse, the retreat, and taking, as it would seem, the initiatory steps in the latter, being, as we infer, among the "rebelists" whose hasty and disorderly flight communicated the infectious panic to the troops.

On Monday they proceeded to business, as will be seen from the following:

In the Senate.—The bill providing for the confiscation of the property of the rebels found in arms against the Government was taken up.

Mr. TRIMMELL offered an amendment providing that any person held to service or labor, employed or in any way aiding the rebellion against the Government, shall be forfeited to his master.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE asked for the yeas and nays. Agreed to.

Mr. TRIMMELL said he was glad the yeas and nays were called for. He wanted to see who would vote to allow traitorous masters to employ slaves to shoot down Union men.

If the Senator from Kentucky is in favor of it, let him vote for it.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE said the remarks of the Senator were ancillary for. He intended to do his duty according to his ideas of the Constitution.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE said he should vote for it gladly. He thought the time had come when the Government should put a stop to traitors employing bondsmen to shoot down men fighting for their country. He hoped there was a public sentiment which would blast any Senator who defends traitors in doing such things.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE said he supposed the Senator from Massachusetts was doing what he supposed his duty. The Senator from Kentucky should do the same thing. And when the Senator attempted to deter him from doing his duty, by intimating that public opinion here or elsewhere about blast him for doing what his conscience said was right to talk to the words. He would use no unparliamentary language, but the Senator knows it is perfectly idle to make such an attempt.

Mr. PEARCE thought it best to use all the liberality possible. The measure would not be of real value.

The amendment was agreed to—Yea 32, Nays 6; Messrs. Breckinridge, Johnson of Missouri, Kennedy, Pease, Polk and Powell voting in the negative.

The bill was then passed.

On this we remark, that slaves be accounted property, the bill makes an evident distinction in favor of the holders of such property, all other property of rebels, however employed, being subjected to confiscation, but slave property exempted unless actually employed in the war.

The language of Mr. Trumbull's amendment, however, seems designed to avoid a recognition of slave property by designating "persons held to service or labor." This avoidance was well, but, in its connection, reveals a defect in the measure adopted. If the laborers be "persons" instead of "property," then they should be treated as "persons"—protected and welcomed into the army, if loyal, and punished, if rebels.

In the House.—Mr. CHAPIN of Kentucky introduced resolutions declaring the present civil war had been forced upon us by the Disunionists of the Southern States now in rebellion against the Government of the United States; that in this National emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of passion and resentment, will recollect only their duty to their country; that the war is not waged for conquest or subjugation, or interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to maintain and defend the supremacy of the Constitution with the rights and equality under it omnipotent, so as these objects shall be accomplished the war ought to cease.

The first resolution, that the deplorable civil war was forced on the country by the Disunionists of the Southern States now in revolt against the Constitutional Government in arms around the Capital, was

Adopted, Yea, 121; Nays, 2—viz.: Borritt and Reid, of Missouri.

The remainder of the resolutions were adopted, 117 against 2—namely, Potter and Riddle.

And so the reverses of Sunday's encounter has not cured Congress of the folly and madness of attempting to "maintain and defend the supremacy of the Constitution" while pledging themselves not to interfere with "established institutions of the States" directly at war with the Constitution and subversive of National supremacy! We fear it will require severer chastisement to cure the National Government of its folly.

Mr. WILCOX (Ky.) offered a resolution calling on the Secretary of War to inform the House whether the Southern Confederacy, or any State thereof, has in its military service any Indians, and if so, what is their number and tribe.

Mr. ELIOT (Mass.) objected. We have no knowledge of a southern confederacy.

Mr. LOEJOY (Ill.) said "Yes, rebels."

Mr. WILCOX, responding to a suggestion, modified his resolution by saying "the so-called southern confederacy."

Mr. DUNN (Ind.) : I move to extend the inquiry to negroes.

Mr. WILCOX : I have not been informed that they have negroes in service.

Mr. DUNN : I have, and they shot down our men, yesterday. Mr. Dunn's amendment was adopted, and the resolution passed.

Mr. BURNETT, of Kentucky, asked leave to offer a resolution calling on the Secretary of War to inform the House whether there be negroes in the army of the United States who have been armed, and whether there are negroes the property of any of the revolted States, who have been used by our army in their battles, and in impediments, and if so, at what places, and in the number of those employed.

Various objections were made to the introduction of the resolution, from the Republican side.

Why should any Republican be afraid or ashamed to have the facts of the case known? Do they think it would damage them, in the eyes of their Kentucky associates? Is not the dread of Southern overseers, yet banished from Congress? If not, why not, but because slavery and its attendant domination still exist?

#### FIRST FRUITS OF THE REPULSE AT BULL'S RUN.

The following most remarkable Editorial is from the N. Y. Times of July 24.

The READER is IT A PROPHET? There is a divinity shaping the course of this world, we find in all its forms, her footprints and her hand-marks, equal trust and boundlessness. That is one thing, and only one, at the bottom of the fight, and that is the negro. And yet, both North and South are studiously

ignoring the one, and desecrating the masses and trying to derive the world to the cause of quietism. The South pretends to fight for its peace—but it is fighting for the establishment of human bondage on the basis of republican principles. The North pretends to fight for the high principles of the Constitution and State rights, but for the recognition of property or social institutions in their minds. But they know that until Slavery changes its relation w<sup>t</sup> the Government, and becomes its complete subject, the public are irresponsible.

Our Army had long skirmishes at Manassas, they would have marched on to Richmond, and ended this war on a tabular basis, both parties w<sup>t</sup>ing to the last, the cause of the war. The God that rules over us does not exact justice, in the sense of giving to each man his due, but he does exact a compromise of this sort to forestall this providence. And he has awakened the nation, as by the shock of an earthquake.

Would anything short of our unexpected results at Manassas have quickened the confidence and judgment of twenty millions of people in regard to the conduct of the ghost of long-remembered? Would any such a conflict of arms and discipline, like its tomb, and haunts our Army, and frights it to panic and flight. Now shall we learn, anew and rightly, our position and duties. We have an enemy to meet who has long defied God and man, and who threatens to extend over a whole continent, and to the dissolution of the Union. Shall we shrink in our manhood, where the cancer of his crime invites surgery? Shall we fight the devil with fire, according to the wisdom of the ancients? Let a paralyzed Army and a reeling Nation answer.

#### Family Miscellany.

For the Principals.

GOD IS LIGHT. 1 John 1, 5, &c. ac.

This is the word our ears have heard, And now to all we tell,

That God is light, and in his sight, The darkness cannot dwell.

The darkness cannot dwell.

Our God is light, for Truth is bright, And all things doth reveal, But falsehood's pall o'erwhelmeth all, And all things doth conceal.

Our God is light, for God is Love, And love is heaven's own light, But marv'lers hate is falsehood's mate, And dwells in rayless Night.

O God of Light, of Truth, of Love, Thy Light, O may we see,

Thy truth believe, thy love receive, And dwell in Light with Thee.

w. g.

#### SONG OF THE PRINTER.

Pick and click Give the type in the stick,

As the printer stands at his case; His eye glance quick and his fingers p'k

The types at a rapid pace,

And one by one, as the letters go, Words are piled up steady and slow

Steady and slow, But still they grow,

And words of fire they soon will glow;

Wonderful words, that without a sound Shall traverse the earth to its utmost bound—

Words that shall make The tyrant quake,

And the bonds of the slave oppressed shall break

Words that can'tumble an army's might, Or strike its strength in a righteous fight,

Yet the types they look bold and d'aud, As he puts them in place with his finger and thumb;

But the printer smiles, And his eye is bright,

By the printer's skill, as others p'p'd

While pick and click Went the types in the stick

Like the world's commerce, in full sail,

O white is the pick, white is the click,

O in the world like it?

A printing press, an iron stick,

And a litho ad'ne,

With pages of white, and ink of black,

I print the right, and wrong.

I print the wrong,

of pappys and

And I speak—deeply seated;

Set me,

The people green,

When I set me in,

Now set again,

Do you chuse,

To print the wrong,

